1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

culture. It seems probable, however, that these variations were due to immigration subsequent to the original settlement.

Later Immigration and Emigration

Evidence from various sources leads me to conclude that after this original settlement of the group there was a subsequent immigration of another people who settled in Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva. The original settlers were represented untouched in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and probably eastern Nuku Hiva. If there were two stocks of settlers in the Marquesas as this theory supposes, it is obvious that those who came first would have established themselves in the most favorable regions, and probable that they would outnumber the newcomers sufficiently to hold their position. Eastern Nuku Hiva and central and eastern Hiva Oa are the most favorable sections for human habitation in the group. The newcomers would have had the drier western sections. It is on dry Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva that are found those tendencies that I have supposed to represent later comers. Nothing is known of the dry region of western Hiva Oa—there are no descriptions by early visitors, and today the region is depopulated.

It is certain that there was emigration from the Marquesas. Four factors were causative in this: expulsion in war, famine, more subtle causes resulting from a spirit of adventure and restlessness, and revelations of seers which led the people to set out on definitely organized expeditions for exploration.[9] It is probable that exploring expeditions were organized usually, and perhaps always, at times of scarcity or famine in the group. Porter gives most interesting evidence regarding such expeditions. It is significant that prior to Porter's visit Nuku Hiva had been going through a time of severe famine. Porter writes (24, pp. 93-4):

> While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since,[9] had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

[9] *He fenua imi* is a native expression which may best be translated "land seeking."

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

174
167

More than eight hundred men, women and children, Wilson assures me, have to his knowledge left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None has ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W., where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird. . . .

195
193

Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in breadfruit, hogs, coconuts, everything that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

The story of the great canoe "Ka'ahua" furnished another example of emigration. It describes the way in which a Pua Ma'u chief organized such an expedition for "land seeking" *(he fenua imi)*. It is certain that the proportion of the adventurers who reached land on such voyages was very small and of those who returned, even smaller; the majority of these explorers undoubtedly perished, and most of the others must have remained in the islands they had reached.

The people of today remember some interesting instances of the emigration of tribes driven from their valleys in war. Legend recounts that the tribe called Fiti Nui, which lived in the upland valley of Me-ae Topa Iho on the southern coast of Hiva Oa toward the western extremity, was overwhelmed in a war. They built rafts of great packs of bamboos tied together. On these they departed from Hiva Oa, expecting to take refuge on Tahu Ata. But a contrary wind arose and drove them southward. In recent times, some people from the island of Napuka in the Tuamotus, came to the Marquesas on a schooner. An old woman with them said, "We are the overthrown people *(pi'i hina)* from Me'ae Topa Iho. Our ancestors were the Fitinui."

Descriptions and a study of the Napuka people, their culture, and their dialect, give no suggestion of closer relationship to the Marquesas tribes. They appear to be a degenerate stock. Their dialect is incomprehensible to other Tuamotuans, as is also that of the Marquesas; but these is no evidence of its derivation from the latter. (See 2, p. 36.)

Another story recounts that, after defeat in battle, a number of people were driven to depart from Hana Pa'a Oa on a bamboo raft. They reached Takaroa in the Tuamotus. A chief named Mapuhi from Takaroa proved that he was a descendant of these Hana Pa'a refugees by his knowledge of the names of all the early settlers in the Pa'a Oa valley. His grandfather, long before, had dictated the names to him. This knowledge proved to the old people whom Mapuhi had assembled that he was truly of their

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

tribe. This incident a number of natives living today remember. I was told in Nuku Hiva that the people of the small valley of Ua Uka, between Tai o Hae and Haka Ui, were defeated in war, took flight in their canoes, and were never heard of again.

Unity of the Group

That the Marquesas may be regarded as a unified group of Polynesian stock is evidenced by the culture, language, traditions, archaeology, and physique of the people. Genealogies furnish an important bit of evidence indicating this unity. According to these records, which are everywhere of the same system in their earlier sections, the people of all the islands regarded themselves as descended from Atea.

There are, however, many variations of a minor sort, due to local differentiation. Such are the dialectical differences of the several sections of the groups; there appears to be also a slight physical variation between the northern and southern sections which may indicate predominance of one or another element of settlers in each particular region. The people of the south—that is, Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa—tend to longer heads, curlier hair, shorter stature, and lighter skin. Differences in stone work observed by Mr. Linton indicate corresponding variations in the two sections of the group. The people in the southern section did not build with as large stone, nor did they erect as large platforms and dance areas as those of the northern section. On the other hand, the arts of carving and sculpturing stone and of cutting stone blocks were much more highly developed in the south. Furthermore, in correlation with this stone work, we nd that the art of wood carving and the higher, later evolution of the art of tattooing were centered in the southern group, and that they spread from there to the north. In the southern section the chief was less sacred than in the northern and there was less definite social stratification and private ownership of land. In the discussion of Hiva Oa, it is brought out that there is good reason to believe Hiva Oa, the largest island of the southern section, to have been the central source for most of the traditions of the group. The people of Hiva Oa, particularly of Atu Ona, have today a very deep-set feeling that Hiva Oa ways represent the genuine Marquesan, while for those of Nuku Hiva, they have a decided contempt. It will be brought out in the discussion on The Chief that there seems to have been a decidedly stronger tendency toward the recognition of sanctity in chiefs in the northern section than in the southern.

In our travelling about the group, we noted very marked temperamental differences between the inhabitants of the two sections, evidenced in a number of ways. The people in the south are very aggressive, extreme

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their spouting state, consists of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many generations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Nooaheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

never after heard of. The man died, and the woman was found, and taken back by a canoe, which arrived there in search of feathers. Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in bread-fruit, hogs, cocoa-nuts, every thing that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

Ask them how they obtained their knowledge of those islands, and they tell you from their gods. They name six islands, two have already been mentioned, to wit, Vavao and Ootoopoo. The others are Hitahee, to the south of St. Christiana, which is said to be a small island. Nookuahee and Kappenooa, to leeward of Madison's Island, four days' sail distant; and Pooheka, a fine island, said to lie to the westward of Roberts' Islands, the existence of which is not doubted by them.

Of bananas they count upwards of twenty different kinds, some approaching very near the plantain in their appearance, but it is certain that they have none of the latter on the island. The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time, they are taken out, perfectly ripe and of a beautiful yellow colour.

The *tarro* is a root much resembling a yam, of a pungent taste, and excellent when boiled or roasted. The natives, by grating it, and mixing it with cocoa-nut oil, make of it a paste which is highly esteemed by them. It grows in a nut soil, and much pains is taken in its cultivation.

The sugar-cane grows to an uncommon size here, it being no unusual thing to see the stalks fourteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference. The only use they make of it is to chew and swallow the juice.

The *kava* is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

174 to a few valleys where, in the absence of reinforcements, they would eventually have been wiped out or would have merged with the native population.

A glance at a map of the Pacific (fig. 1) will show that in spite of their comparative immunity from attack the Marquesas are by no means isolated. The Tuamotu chain links them with the Society Islands on the south, and widely scattered islands to the northwest connect them more remotely with Hawaii. Small groups of castaways who had been driven out of their course must have arrived in the Marquesas from time to time and probably met with a friendly reception. There are numerous records of such involuntary voyages in other parts of Polynesia which show that great distances were sometimes covered in these drifts and influences from western Polynesia and even from Micronesia may have reached the Marquesas in this way. The Marquesans themselves made long voyages, some of which are said to have extended as far as Rarotonga with stops at others islands en route. They were not conservative and their natural mechanical ability made them quick to recognize the value of new appliances. It is probable, therefore, that the historic culture of the Marquesas was a blend of the culture of the two groups of early settlers plus a few features which had been introduced from widely diverse sources.

●167 It seems certain that the population of the Marquesas had reached its saturation point before the time of the first European contact. Even the smallest and least hospitable valleys contain stone house-platforms, while the remains in the more favored localities indicate a dense population. Although the increase was checked somewhat by constant inter-tribal wars, the pressure had become sufficiently acute to lead to a resumption of organized expeditions in search of new lands. According to Porter (49, p. 93) the emigrants took with them domestic animals and plants in preparation for the founding of a new colony, and sailed under the direction of priests. The magnitude of the exodus may be judged from the fact that Porter's informant, Wilson, told him that, to his knowledge, eight hundred men, women and children had left the group in this way, none of whom had ever been heard of afterward. At least one of these emigrant groups is known to have established itself in an island of the northern Tuamotus, but the greater part probably sailed on westward into the empty ocean until they perished.

161 The various early estimates of the population of the Marquesas have been collected by Clavel (12) as follows: Cook, in 1773, estimated 50,000 for the Southern Division alone, giving 100,000 for the whole group. Krusenstern, in 1804, gave 16,000 for Nuku Hiva alone on the word of a resident European, but considers 12,000 as more probable. This would mean about 50,000 for the whole group—an estimate Clavel considers the best. Porter, in 1813, gave the popu-

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The story of the Marquesan population is the story of the Hawaiian and other Polynesian populations. From the data in Table I, supplied to me by Handy, it will be seen that in the course of the last 150 years the estimated population has shrunk from about 100,000 to less than 2,000. Handy says:[1]

> The condition of the health of the modern Marquesan is most distressing. I speak without exaggeration when I say that I doubt if there is a wholly sound physical specimen of a Marquesan alive. The principal diseases that are rampant are leprosy, syphilis, elephantiasis, a very rapid wasting pulmonary tuberculosis called *pokoko*, tubercular trouble in the throat, glands, and intestines, and deep ulcers and carbuncles. Dental caries is common.

In view of the theories of a Caucasoid origin of the Polynesian peoples it is likewise very desirable to keep clearly in mind the possibilities and probabilities of modern intermixture.

> From 1800 to 1838 there were only a few deserters from whalers. In 1838 the Catholic missionaries arrived and the French took possession of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Ua Huka. A small French colony with a maximum population of 100 was established. The white population probably never exceeded 100 in the whole group. Today it consists of about a dozen Catholic fathers and sisters and about twenty others. In 1880 a group of Cantonese Chinese were brought into the islands. It is probable that there were never more than 100 in the islands. There are now about thirty. Native women used to marry freely with the Chinese but the intermarriage ceased about ten years ago. The reason for the number of part Chinese today is not the number of Chinese immigrants, but the fact that the half-Chinese are sturdy, healthy, and good breeders. They resist the diseases that take off the natives and half whites.

Another point of interest is Handy's statement to the effect that the Marquesans are very accurate in remembering ancestry and as a general thing showed neither desire to conceal nor to boast of white blood if they had it. It is not a matter either for pride or shame. The amount of unadmitted modern white blood in our series is very probably negligible.

TABLE 1.—THE POPULATION OF THE MARQUESAS

DATE OF CENSUS	ESTIMATED POPULATION
1. Prehistoric:	Estimated to have been between 50,000 and 100,000, fluctuating with periods of plenty and famine.
2. 1773:	Cook estimated 50,000 for three southeastern islands. About 100,000 for the entire group.
3. 1804:	Krusenstern estimated 16,000 for Nuku Hiva. About 50,000 for entire group.
4. 1838:	Dupetit-Thouars estimated 20,000 for the entire group.
5. 1856:	Jouan estimated 12,500 for entire group.
6. 1867:	Lawson manuscript gives 7,411 for entire group.
7. 1884:	Clavel estimated 4,865 distributed as follows:

[1] Personal communication.

/83 cont./ 162 175 648
time, were Negroes and American Indians. Although the frequency of ships is now considerably diminished, and desertions are uncommon, the frequency of visiting vessels is still quite high; and tourists are becoming more frequent than ever before.

/84/ b. After the French occupation, garrisons and naval units were maintained in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, and Atuona, Hiva Oa, until the late nineteenth century. The men of the garrison formed liaisons with native women in the majority of cases, and some remained in the Marquesas as colons after the termination of their service.

c. Colonies of expatriates or laborers were established in several instances after contact.

In the late nineteenth century, a colony of Gilbert Islanders was implanted in Ta'a'oa valley, Hiva Oa and remained to be absorbed into the population. During the same period a Chinese group was established in Taipivai and Hapa'a. [167]

During the twentieth century, two additional colonies were started in the Taipivai-Hapa'a region, one consisting of Annamites and the other of Martiniquan Negroes. Both of these failed, however, and were withdrawn.

In addition to these colonies which were mainly for providing plantation-type labor forces, political exiles were also sent to the Marquesas, which was evidently the Siberia of French Oceania. After the Raiatea wars, a large colony of Raiateans were settled on Nuku Hiva, the results of which can still be seen in numerous families of Hatiheu and A'akapa valleys who trace themselves to one of the Raiatea deportees.

Thus, as the population declined, the survivors were subjected to increasingly frequent contacts with a wide variety of outsiders, with the /85/ result that the chances of any female being exposed to sexual contacts with outsiders were materially increased. Increases in the frequency of contact naturally resulted in increased miscegenation. The number of "pure-blooded" Marquesans in the Marquesan population dwindled rapidly along with the decline of the entire population. 175 563